

VOTES FOR WOMEN.

EDITED BY FREDERICK & EMMELINE PETHICK LAWRENCE.

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DEDICATION.

To the brave women who to-day are fighting for freedom: to the noble women who all down the ages kept the flag flying and looked forward to this day without seeing it: to all women all over the world, of whatever race, or creed, or calling, whether they be with us or against us in this fight, we dedicate this paper.

THE OUTLOOK.

On Wednesday in last week the Prime Minister went through the process which is generally known as the "massacre of the innocents," declaring which Bills it was the intention of the Government to proceed with through the remainder of the session. The Women's Enfranchisement Bill was excluded from this list, and formed the subject of remark by Lord Robert Cecil, who pointed out that, in view of the pledges of private members, the treatment accorded to this question was not consistent with the dignity and honour of the House, and asked that full time should be given to the discussion of it in the course of the session of 1909. Mr. Asquith with characteristic levity professed to have forgotten that the measure still remained on the order paper of the House. We deal elsewhere (page 201) with the campaign which the Government are again inaugurating against the House of Lords.

What Women Demand.

The following letter has been addressed by Mrs. Pethick Lawrence and Mrs. Tuke on behalf of the Women's Social

and Political Union to every member of the Cabinet:—

DEAR SIR,—During the next few weeks you, as a member of the Cabinet, will have your attention directed to the formation of the programme of the Government legislation for next session. We desire to place before you the urgent necessity of the inclusion of a measure of Women's Enfranchisement in the pronouncement in the King's Speech, and to emphasise the responsibility which will rest upon you if you concur in its omission.

With the suggestion that Woman Suffrage should be introduced by private member's amendment into an Electoral Reform Bill we are wholly dissatisfied; we do not recognise the right of the Liberal Government to abandon responsibility on this question, nor do we see any prospect of this promised Bill being actually carried into law during the present Parliament. Instead, we see that it is the intention of the Government to fight the next General Election on a constitutional issue—the issue between the Commons and the Lords. To women an issue precedent to this is that the House of Commons is totally unrepresentative of women; and wherever the constitutional issue is discussed in public, women will insist that this question must be first disposed of.

We do not believe that you as a statesman can be ignorant of the great and growing resentment which has been manifested at every by-election during the year against the failure on the part of the Government to do justice to women, nor can you fail to be aware that with every day that is spent in unworthy delay and a refusal to apply Liberal principles to the case of women, our ranks are recruited from women of your own party.

Finally, we would remind you that while legislation intimately affecting the lives of women is being carried in Parliament, women cannot patiently submit to see a fresh appeal made to the electorate from which they are excluded.

Meanwhile, most active preparations are being made for a militant campaign during the year of 1909, which will exceed in vigour and effectiveness anything that has been attempted before.

Release of Mrs. Baines.

On Friday last Mrs. Baines was released from Armley Gaol, after serving her sentence for the alleged attempt to break into Mr. Asquith's meeting at the Coliseum at Leeds. She was welcomed at the prison gates by Mrs. Drummond, Adela Pankhurst, and a number of friends in Leeds, and on Saturday she was accompanied to London by Mrs. Drummond, and met on her arrival at King's Cross by Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, who presented her with a bouquet of flowers. She was then conducted by a procession to Trafalgar Square, where she addressed an interested and sympathetic audience, and after that made a tour of the West-End of London, receiving everywhere the hearty support of the on-lookers. Though pulled down in health by her incarceration, she looks forward to active work in the coming year.

Mr. Lloyd George's Latest Move.

The announcement made on Monday last by Mr. Lloyd George that in future women were to be entirely excluded from all his meetings will come without surprise. It is the latest move in the hostilities between the Government and the women of the country. It will be remembered that the war began when Christabel Pankhurst and Annie Kenney were flung out of Sir Edward Grey's meeting for asking a question after the speech was over. To this the women replied by deliberately heckling Cabinet Ministers during the delivery of their speeches. It is, of course, open to Cabinet Ministers all over the country to adopt Mr. Lloyd George's plan and pack their meetings with their own followers, but they will find that women will make counter moves, and that the peace in inaction which they desire will not be attained.

Other Important Events of the Week.

Prominent among other items of interest to women has been the decision against the claim of the Scottish women graduates. This decision, was, of course, given by the Law Lords of the House of Lords, acting as the highest judicial court interpreting the existing law of the land, and has no bearing on the possible decision of the same House sitting as an Estate of the Realm to deal with any fresh legislation on the subject which may be introduced. The women doctors, who by a majority of 538 to 15 have declared their desire for the franchise, have met with the usual rebuff from the Prime Minister. To the deputation which waited on him with a view of inducing him to introduce legislation to deal with the sweating evil, Mr. Asquith would make no promise of assistance, and the

same treatment has been meted out to the women of the Women's Labour League, who asked that the women unemployed should be dealt with along the same lines as the men. These facts prove how great a need women have to possess the vote in order to remedy their grievances. A lively correspondence has been proceeding with regard to the Albert Hall meeting, and we print on another page a further series of extracts from the newspapers with regard to it. Other meetings addressed by Cabinet Ministers have not escaped the attentions of the Suffragettes—notably Mr. Birrell's at Nottingham and Mr. Haldane's at Manchester and Rochdale; and a Bill has been introduced by Lord Robert Cecil to repress disturbances at public meetings. This, if carried, would not deter the Suffragettes, who have already shown their fearlessness of punishment, but would act no doubt as a very suitable deterrent to many of the thoughtless youths who come to break up Suffrage meetings. An unusually large number of meetings in support of votes for women have been held in different parts of the country, including several by the new Conservative Women's Suffrage Association, which has listened to addresses by Lord Robert Cecil, and several other speakers on this subject.

N.W.S.P.U. ANNOUNCEMENTS.

The Queen's Hall Meeting.

A meeting will be held to-night in the large Queen's Hall. Mrs. Pethick Lawrence will be in the chair, and the other speakers will be Miss Annie Kenney, Miss Gladice Keevil, and Mr. Pethick Lawrence. Tickets are 2s. 6d., 1s., and 6d., and those who have not already obtained them are recommended to apply at once. The doors will open at 7.30. There will be no At Homes next week.

Christmas Number of "Votes for Women."

The issue of VOTES FOR WOMEN for December 24 will contain a special plate portrait of Christabel Pankhurst. The issue for December 31 will contain a verbatim report of Miss Pankhurst's speech. Readers who are in the habit of obtaining their copies at meetings of the Women's Social and Political Union are invited to order these two issues either from their newspapers or direct from the VOTES FOR WOMEN Office, 4, Clements Inn, W.C. Owing to the Christmas holidays they are likely otherwise to lose the opportunity of obtaining their paper. Orders should be sent in early, as the number of copies will be limited.

Women who are willing to help in the sale of VOTES FOR WOMEN are referred to pages 204 and 205, where they will find particulars for different localities.

Christmas Presents.

Readers of VOTES FOR WOMEN are asked to make a point of buying their Christmas presents from the Woman's Press, 4, Clements Inn. Many useful and pretty gifts are on sale, and at prices to suit all purses, among them being motor scarves, ties, belts, purse bags and hatpins, and chenille and silk cords, for neck wear, at 1s. each, all in the purple, white and green, and the Boadicea and Shamrock brooches, the latter 6d. each; also amusing games ("In and Out of Holloway," 1d., "Rushing the House," 6d., and "A Suffragette Puzzle," 1s.).

The Shelley Calendar, arranged by Miss Kerr, for 1909, is on sale, and can be obtained for 1s. The Christmas cards reproducing the beautiful banner by Laurence Housman are also ready; the price is 6d. each for single copies; larger quantities: 25 for 10s. 6d.; 50 for £1; 100 for £1 17s. 6d. The penny Christmas card, which contains a pretty design by Miss Sylvia Pankhurst, is now on sale. Orders should be given at once.

A large number of pamphlets and leaflets can also be obtained from the Woman's Press. A new pamphlet, "The By-election Policy of the W.S.P.U.," by F. W. Pethick Lawrence, has been prepared, price 1d.

Mrs. Pankhurst's Presentation.

The committee has been delighted at the gladness with which the members and friends of this Union have availed themselves of the opportunity of presenting Mrs. Pankhurst with some little token of their love and gratitude on the day when she is released from prison. Many contributions have been sent in to me during the past week for the presentation fund; and those who wish to contribute should lose no time in sending in their names at once, as we wish to prepare an illuminated address on which the names of all the donors will be inscribed. The subscription list of the presentation will be closed on December 21. Whatever money is left over and above that which is needed to pay the cost of the necklet and pendant wrought in gold with amethysts, pearls, and green agates will be given to Mrs. Pankhurst, to be devoted by her to any object which she may please.

Christabel Pankhurst will be presented on Thursday next

with a silk tri-colour flag with an aluminium staff. The staff will be engraved with the notable days in the history of this movement. It has also been suggested that a presentation should be made to our dear comrade Mrs. Leigh, who has spent seven months out of the past twelve in prison. No one has been more full of enthusiasm and more absolutely regardless of self than Mrs. Leigh. Some lasting memento of the year 1908 will be presented to her, and any money left over will be given her in a presentation purse. It is hoped that she will spend it in taking a much-needed holiday. All three presentation lists will close on December 21.

MABEL TUKE, Hon. Sec.

Christabel Pankhurst's Release.

A great gathering will meet outside Holloway Prison on Tuesday, December 22, and we urge all friends who are going to take part in the procession to arrive not a moment later than 7.30 a.m., and to take up their place in the procession at once. It is quite likely that the authorities will release Miss Pankhurst before the appointed hour of eight o'clock. They have done that sort of thing before. Every detail of organisation will have to be carefully arranged in order to secure the complete success of the demonstration. It will be easily understood that if everybody crowds about the gates of the prison there will be a surging throng, and those who want to give Miss Pankhurst a great welcome will be separated, and will probably lose sight of her in the crowd. Whereas if the procession is formed up in good order, we can wait in line to receive her, and can give her an adequate expression of the welcome that is in our heart for her. We urge those friends who are going to take part in the procession in uniform to send in their names at once to Mrs. Drummond at 4, Clements Inn, Strand. It is absolutely essential to know beforehand what the numbers will be, so that all arrangements can be made. All the breakfast tickets have been sold, but arrangements are being made to provide another opportunity for friends to hear Christabel Pankhurst.

We heartily urge all those who can do so to make a special effort to wear the uniform. It will consist of a short skirt of purple or green, a white jersey golf coat, and a simple hat of purple or green. The regalia will be worn over the right shoulder, and will be fastened under the left arm. In order to meet the convenience of our busy workers we have laid in a small stock of white golf coats, which will be sold at the very reasonable price of 7s. 6d. each; we have also the hats for 2s. If orders are to be given they should be given at once, as should our stock run out it will take some days to renew it. The uniforms will be worn again on January 9, when Mrs. Pankhurst's carriage will be drawn through the streets by members of the Union in this dress. Those who wear the uniform will walk in front of Miss Pankhurst's carriage; those who cannot wear the uniform will form into a procession at the back of Miss Pankhurst's carriage, and they will be asked to carry flags of the tri-colour in order that this part of the procession may be as full of colour and interest as the rest.

The three bands I should like to be provided as a special gift to Miss Pankhurst. I must claim myself the honour of giving one of these bands, and I herewith offer the opportunity of sharing this privilege to other members of the Union. I know they will be only too delighted to avail themselves of it.

E. P. L.

PROGRAMME OF EVENTS.

Up to December 27.

Dec.	Thur. 17	Fri. 18	Sat. 19	Sun. 20	Mon. 21	Tues. 22	Sat. 25	Sun. 27
	Wood Green, Small Unity Hall London, Queen's Hall, Public Meeting	London, 16, Warwick Square Gateshead, High Level Bridge Plymouth, Royal Hotel Walsend, Women's Meeting I.L.P. Institute Manchester, At Home, Onward Buildings, Admission 6d.	Manchester Glasgow, At Home, 243, Bath St. Newcastle-on-Tyne, Haymarket Bradford, At Home, Mechanics' Institute	Aberdeen, Music Hall Southport, Fabian Society Manchester, Jewish Aid Society	Brockley, Presbyterian Church Christian and Literary Assn.	Release of Miss Christabel Pankhurst from Holloway Gaol London, Inns of Court Hotel	Manchester Portsmouth	
	Bowes Park W.S.P.U. Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Miss Annie Kenney, Miss Gladice Keevil, F. W. Pethick Lawrence, Esq.	Miss Isabel Seymour Miss Edith New Miss Annie Kenney Miss Edith New	Miss Mary Gawthorpe	"Votes" Corps 11 a.m., 1 p.m.	Miss Conclan Miss Edith New Miss Adela Pankhurst	Miss Ogston Miss Lillian Williamson, B.A. Dr. Letitia Fairfield Miss Sylvia Pankhurst	Breakfast "Votes" Corps 11 a.m., 1 p.m. Miss Mary Gawthorpe	
	2.45-3.15 8-10	12.15 p.m. 4 p.m. 7 p.m.	8-10	6.30 p.m. 3.30 p.m. 8 p.m.	8 p.m. 6.30 p.m. 7 p.m. 8 p.m.	8 a.m.	9.15 a.m. 6.30 p.m.	

IMPORTANT FUTURE EVENTS.

1909	Jan. 19	May
	Manchester, Free Trade Hall Princes' Skating Rink	Christabel Pankhurst Exhibition

THE HISTORY OF THE SUFFRAGE MOVEMENT.

By SYLVIA PANKHURST. XXXVII.—THE W.S.P.U. AND BY-ELECTIONS.

In the last chapter we saw that Miss Billington had been arrested for leading a deputation to Mr. Asquith's house in Cavendish-square, in June, 1906, and that she had been subsequently fined, but had refused to pay, and had therefore been sent to prison.

On July 4, Annie Kenney, Mrs. Knight, and Mrs. Sparboro, the case against whom had been adjourned in order that they might obtain legal assistance, again appeared in Court. On the same morning, Christabel Pankhurst, who had taken her LL.B. degree at the Victoria University on the previous day, travelled up from Manchester by an early train, and she was, therefore, present as their adviser. In the police evidence it was stated that Mrs. Knight had rushed at Mr. Asquith's door, and struck it with her umbrella; but there were many witnesses to prove that she had not done this, and in any case, as she was lame with hip disease, it was absolutely impossible for her to rush. Mrs. Knight was asked if she would give an undertaking not to repeat the offence, but she replied that she would not, for she declined to barter away her freedom.

The magistrate asked Mrs. Sparboro why she allowed herself to be influenced by other people. He said that she, as a lady of 64, was much more competent to form a judgment than the people of 22 or 23 years of age, by whom she had allowed herself to be led, and he also suggested that many of the women with whom she had been mixed up were people who were scarcely respectable. In reply to this, Mrs. Sparboro said that the majority of the women who formed the deputation were poor, but highly respectable. "You would be astonished," she said, "if you knew the poverty and the goodness of them. They are braver and better than I am, and many of them have done without their breakfast." Both Mrs. Sparboro and Annie Kenney, like Mrs. Knight, refused to give any undertaking as to their future conduct. Thereupon the magistrate ordered them to be bound over, and, on their declining to do this, they were sent to prison for six weeks in the second division.

Women Ejected at Manchester.

On the previous June 23, a great Liberal demonstration had been held at Bellevue. Mr. Lloyd George, Mr. John Burns, and Mr. Winston Churchill had been the principal speakers. A number of members of the Women's Social and Political Union had attended in order to ask these Cabinet Ministers to give them a Government pledge on behalf of Woman Suffrage, but they had been unceremoniously ejected. One of the ladies thrown out of the meeting was Mrs. Alice Morrissey, wife of a Liverpool councillor; and Mr. Morrissey, indignant at the way in which his wife had been treated, had gone to her assistance. Mr. Morrissey was very roughly handled, and his leg was so much hurt that he could not walk. Outside in the street the police immediately ordered away those who had been ejected from the meeting, and because he was unable to obey them they took Mr. Morrissey into custody. Adela Pankhurst, who was present, expostulated with one of the policemen, and, in doing so, laid her hand upon his arm, saying, "Surely you can see that Mr. Morrissey cannot walk?" She was at once taken into custody for "attempting to effect a rescue," and after this Mrs. Morrissey and Mrs. Mitchell were also arrested.

The case of these four people came up simultaneously with that of Annie Kenney and her colleagues in London, with the result that Adela Pankhurst was fined 5s. and costs, and Mr. Morrissey 21s. and costs. Adela Pankhurst refused to pay her fine, and was sent to prison for seven days in default. Mrs. Morrissey and Mrs. Mitchell were bound over, and, on refusing to enter into recognisances and to find sureties, were committed to Strangeways Gaol, Manchester, for five days.

After the trial in London, a meeting of protest against the imprisonments was held in Hyde Park, at which Christabel Pankhurst took the chair. "In Russia," she said, "we would look for men like Mr. Asquith, but not in England." She called upon Mr. Asquith to withdraw from the Cabinet, as he stood in the way of reform.

The next event of importance in the W.S.P.U. annals is the Cocker-mouth by-election, but before giving any account of this it would be well to recall the fact that the first by-election fought

by the Women's Social and Political Union was at Eye, on April 7, 1906. This took place, as it will be remembered, just six weeks before the Prime Minister received the deputation on May 19, and the London committee of the W.S.P.U. was already busily engaged in organising the procession and demonstration for that day. Annie Kenney, Theresa Billington, and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, however, found time to go down to Eye and to interview the two candidates. The question of Votes for Women was treated with contempt and ridicule by Mr. Harold Pearson, the Liberal candidate. Owing to the urgent pressure of work, however, these three members of the London committee had to return to London; but the Manchester stalwarts, although the election was so far from them, were determined to fight the by-election. The funds of the Union were almost depleted, but they succeeded in getting £5 together, and with this they sent Mrs. Drummond off to Eye with only a few handbills. She was without money to hire the conveyances so necessary in that large country constituency, and entirely friendless and unknown; but, in spite of all these difficulties, she succeeded in creating a wonderful impression. She could not afford to hire a carriage, it is true, but there was always a farmer's or a tradesman's cart that would give her a lift from one part of the district to another. An impression was abroad throughout the constituency that there was not one Suffragette, but that several were working from different centres. Mrs. Drummond, though she had then done but little public speaking, held meetings in every town and village, and had to act as both chairman and speaker, and to use a chair or an orange box as a platform. So successful was her propaganda, that before the end of the election both the Liberal and Conservative candidates were eagerly announcing that they were in favour of Votes for Women.

In the Cocker-mouth by-election, which took place on August 3, Christabel Pankhurst was at first the only worker. She took a stall in the market-place, and sold literature, and when she had collected a sufficient crowd around by this means she mounted her stool and addressed the people. Later on she was joined by a number of other workers, and in the result the Liberals lost the seat, which had been held by Sir W. Lawson (Liberal), and Sir John Randall (Unionist) was returned by a majority of 690, the votes being:—

Sir John Randall (U.).....	4,593
Hon. F. Guest (L.).....	3,903

The votes at the General Election had been:—

Sir W. Lawson (L.).....	5,439
Sir J. Randall (U.).....	4,784

As soon as the Cocker-mouth election was over, Miss Pankhurst and her co-workers went on to East Denby to fight the Liberal candidate, H. D. Hemmerde.

(To be continued.)

CABINET PUDDING: TWO RECIPES.

Take a fresh young Suffragette, add a large idea of her own importance, and as much sauce as you like. Allow her to stand on a Cabinet Minister's doorstep until in a white heat. Well mix with one or two policemen.

Roll well in mud, and, while hot, run in to a police station and allow to simmer. Well garnish with sauce of martyrdom. Cost: A little self-respect.—*Evening News*.

Take the Prime Minister and several Cabinet Ministers. Place them in the House of Commons, and agitate until they call out 6,000 policemen to protect them from 13 women. Season with a "Liberal" supply of broken promises, lies, corruption of British justice, and more than a suspicion of fright. At this point gently but firmly take the hand of the Prime Minister, and read Magna Carta to him; he will become very flurried. The drivelling impertinences of a few previously "got-at" Police-court magistrates will greatly enhance the flavour. Add a sufficient quantity of Holloway's ointment (mixed with from 5 to 10 drops of solitary confinement), to produce an indignant mass. Stir with determination and courage, and keep the pot boiling for three years, or until the required Votes for Women are obtained, adding fuel and hot water as necessary. Garnish with Suffragette buttons, which must be firmly stuck in. Serve with a sauce composed of equal parts of triumph and satisfaction. Cost: The Liberal seats at future election. Quantity: Sufficient for the women of England. N.B.—The proof of this pudding is in the eating. M. A. PAGE.

THE SCOTTISH GRADUATES' CASE.

The House of Lords, sitting in its capacity as the highest legal tribunal to decide the interpretation of the existing law, gave judgment on Thursday last in the Scottish graduates' case.

It will be remembered that, as reported in our issues of November 12 and November 19, Miss Chrystal Macmillan had argued the case of the Scottish graduates in person. Her contention was that in former times women not only possessed, but exercised, the franchise, that this right had never been taken away by statute, that the statute conferring the vote upon graduates of the Scottish Universities by the use of the word "persons" included women as well as men in its category of voters. The case had been decided against the women in the lower Courts, and they had appealed to the House of Lords; they were accordingly denoted the "appellants" in the present case.

Appeal Dismissed.

The Lord Chancellor, in moving that the appeal should be dismissed, said: In regard to the alleged right of voting, the appellants assert that if ancient records are explored there is evidence of women having enjoyed this right, and no adequate ground for affirming a constitutional or common law disability on the score of sex; further, that the Representation of the People Act (Scotland), 1868, taken with the Universities (Scotland) Act, 1889, and the Ordinances made under the last-mentioned Act do upon their literal construction confer upon women, if they comply with the requirements, a right to vote for University members. It may be that in the vast mass of venerable documents buried in our public repositories, some of authority, others of none, there will be found traces of women having taken some part in Parliamentary elections. No authentic and plain case of a woman giving a vote was brought before your lordships. But students of history know that at various periods members of the House of Commons were summoned in a very irregular way, and it is quite possible that just as great men in a locality were required to nominate members, so also women in a like position may have been called upon to do the same; or other anomalies may have been overlooked in a confused time. I say it may be so, though it has not been established. A few equivocal cases were referred to. I was surprised how few. And it is the same in regard to judicial precedents. Two passages may be found in which judges are reported as saying that women may vote at Parliamentary elections. These are dicta derived from an ancient manuscript of no weight. Old authorities are almost silent on the subject, except that Lord Coke at one place incidentally alludes to women as being under a disqualification, not dwelling upon it as upon a thing disputable, but alluding to it for purpose of illustration as a matter certain. This disability of women has been taken for granted.

It is incomprehensible to me that anyone acquainted with our laws or the methods by which they are ascertained can think—if, indeed, anyone does think—there is room for argument on such a point. It is notorious that this right of voting has, in fact, been confined to men. Not only has it been the constant tradition alike of all the three kingdoms, but it has also been the constant practice, so far as we have knowledge of what has happened, from the earliest time down to this day. Only the clearest proof that a different state of things prevailed in ancient times could be entertained by a court of law in proving the origin of so inveterate an usage. I need not remind your lordships that numberless rights rest upon similar bases. Indeed, the whole body of the common law has no other foundation. I will not linger upon this subject, which, indeed, was fully discussed in "*Chorlton v. Lings*."

The Use of the Word "Persons."

If this legal disability is to be removed it must be done by an Act of Parliament. Accordingly, the appellants maintain that it has, in fact, been done by Act of Parliament. They say that the Act of 1868, while confining to men the franchise described in other sections, adopts different language in Section 27, using in that section the word "persons." I agree that the word "persons" would *prima facie* include women. But in speaking of "persons" this same section limits them to those who are "not subject to any legal incapacity." I cannot doubt that by this limitation, if not otherwise, are excluded all such persons as may by law be disabled from voting. Peers are excluded, as are women. So also are others. If the word "persons" in Section 27 of the Act of 1868 is wide enough to comprise women, then they are shut out by the exception of those subject to a legal incapacity. If the word "persons" is not wide enough to include women, then there is nothing in any Act of Parliament that gives the smallest foothold for the appellants' contention. I will only add this much as to the whole case of the appellants. It proceeds upon the sup-

position that the word "person" in the Act of 1868 did include women, though not then giving them the vote, so that at some later date an Act purporting to deal only with education might enable commissioners to admit them to the degree and thereby also indirectly confer upon them the franchise. It would require a convincing demonstration to satisfy me that Parliament intended to effect a constitutional change so momentous and far-reaching by so furtive a process. It is a dangerous assumption to suppose that the Legislature foresees every possible result that may ensue from the unguarded use of a single word or that the language used in statutes is so precisely accurate that you can pick out from various Acts this and that expression, and skilfully piecing them together, lay a safe foundation for some remote reference. Your lordships are aware that from early times the courts of law have been continuously obliged, in endeavouring loyally to carry out the intention of Parliament, to observe a series of familiar precautions for interpreting statutes, so imperfect and obscure as they often are. Learned volumes have been written on this single subject. It is not, in my opinion, necessary in the present case to apply any of those canons of construction. The Act invoked by the appellants is plain enough to repel their contentions.

In regard to the second point made by the appellants—namely, that they are entitled to receive voting papers, in my opinion they are not so entitled because the Act only says that voters shall receive them. They are not voters. For these reasons I respectfully advise your lordships to dismiss this appeal with costs.

The other law lords present concurred.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE £50,000 FUND.

December 9 to December 15.

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Already acknowledged	25,608	17	9	Miss May Sinclair	1	0	0
Miss Filmer	0	3	0	Miss Edith Beck	2	0	0
Miss K. Evans	0	2	6	Mme. de Sales, of Lescar			
Miss H. MacRae (proceeds of chumny making)	0	3	3	(saved from dress allowance, to fight the Liberals as traitors to their own principles and promises, and cowardly persecutors of women)	10	0	0
Mrs. G. Gulich (aprons sold)	0	10	0	Contributions to By-Election Fund—			
Alfred Wright, Esq.	5	0	0	Miss S. G. Strangways	5	5	0
Miss Jane Gairrath	1	0	0	Miss Eliza Gye	0	10	0
Miss E. Perry	0	1	0	Per Miss Gawthorpe—			
A. W. Pollard, Esq.	2	0	0	Dublin Incorporated Law Society (Miss M. Gawthorpe's expenses)	2	2	6
Miss Margaret Smith	1	3	0	Donation (Dublin I.L.S.)	1	0	0
Miss Ellen Beck	2	0	0	G. H. Lyster, Esq.	2	2	0
Per Miss J. Seymour	0	2	7	Per J. Rowbotham, Esq.	0	10	0
Miss J. Allen	5	0	0	Mrs. Ratcliffe	1	0	0
Miss Frances Clarke	1	1	0	Per Miss Hyde (collecting card)	0	10	1
Miss M. G. Houston	0	2	0	Per Miss Isherwood (collecting card)	1	4	6
Do. (postage fee)	0	1	6	Per Miss Marsden (collecting card)	1	0	0
Miss H. M. Todhunter	1	1	0	Per Miss Withington (collecting card)	1	19	0
Mrs. L. Jackson Clarke	1	11	6	Per Mrs. Scott (collecting card)	1	1	0
Miss Gertrude Anderson	1	0	0	Per Miss Lee (collecting card)	1	0	0
Miss E. W. T. Prior (cakes sold)	0	10	0	Per Miss K. Lee (collecting card)	1	0	0
Miss A. Fraser	1	0	0	Per Miss Clarkson (collecting card)	0	7	5
Miss G. J. M. Wheaton	0	2	6	Miss Gawthorpe (lecture fee)	1	1	0
Mrs. A. E. Hall	3	5	0	Per Miss A. Kenney—			
M. H.	0	5	0	Miss Florence Hughes	5	0	0
Miss M. L. Browne (collected)	0	7	0	Membership entrance fees	2	13	0
Mrs. Morris (for band)	1	0	0	Collections, &c.	134	3	1
Miss Margaret E. James	1	0	0				
Per Miss J. R. Campbell (for Bradford Secretary)	1	0	0				
"A Civil Servant"	10	0	0				
Miss Mary Neal (lecture fee)	0	10	6				
"Votes for Women" papers (extra given in street)	0	1	0				
Mrs. Arthur Mayne	1	19	0				
The Misses McGowan (weekly)	0	3	0				
Mrs. F. Rowe (doll sold)	0	8	6				
Miss Cara Hodges	0	8	0				
Mrs. Mortimer Budgett	15	0	0				
Miss A. E. Willson (two weeks' subscription)	2	2	0				
"Income Tax Abatement"	1	0	0				
Scottish W.S.P.U.	5	0	0				
				Total	25,841	16	9

Many people are unable to practise the piano as much as they wish owing to the proximity of neighbours who object to the sound through their walls. The Dimoline Patent Silencing Stop Piano is designed to obviate this difficulty, and may be seen, with many others, at 11, Parkhurst-road, Camden-road, London, N. Miss Grace Jones, at the same address, advises as to art furniture and decorations.

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PROGRESS OF WOMEN.

Medical Women and the Vote.

Some interesting correspondence has passed between the Association of Registered Medical Women of the United Kingdom and the Prime Minister, who informed the association, in reply to their request that he would receive a deputation on the subject, that he was prevented from doing so by pressure of Parliamentary business. The following extracts from the Medical Women's reply are of interest:—"Sir,—We write on behalf of the medical women who have declared themselves in favour of the principle of women's suffrage. A list of their names (338 out of a total of 553) is appended. Many of us have been working for the franchise for 40 years. We regard the question of woman suffrage as one of supreme importance. As members of the medical profession, we desire to have the vote, in order to protect our own interests, and also to co-operate more effectually with the rest of the profession in advancing its general interests. We are a body of taxpayers and self-supporting women. The principle of 'no taxation without representation' is the foundation of English liberty, and we feel that it is one on which we ought not to have to appeal to a Liberal Government in vain. In addition, we are all graduates of universities or holders of diplomas of learned bodies. Since membership of a university is qualification for the franchise, the exclusion of women from this privilege rests on an arbitrary decision, which cannot be justified by any reasonable argument. Members of the medical profession are regarded as experts, of whose skilled services many persons and public bodies, as well as important departments of State, think fit to avail themselves. Women practitioners share in those duties and responsibilities, their professional position, in all respects, being identical with that of men. The anomaly of our position is great, and may be still further demonstrated by the fact that while, as women, we are debarred from exercising the elementary right of citizenship, as doctors we possess the legal power to sign certificates of insanity, which deprive men of the right to vote. In our work we observe at close quarters the lives of the under-paid, the unemployed, and the exploited, and also of the criminal, degenerate and intemperate. We claim for all women that the women's point of view should be represented in the legislation of the country, and that medical women are specially qualified to assist in the solution of some of the problems with which these measures deal. The possession of the vote would exercise a stimulating effect upon women. Among those of education and leisure it would lead to an increased readiness to undertake work in all branches of public service in which the co-operation of women is specially required, and among all classes a sense of responsibility and consciousness of citizenship would be fostered, which would tend to induce a study of, and intelligent interest in, matters affecting the community. Such a result would undoubtedly be of benefit to the State, since the honour and welfare of the country are as dear to women as to men."

Girls and Citizenship.

Addressing the annual conference of the Union of Girls' Clubs and Classes at Birmingham recently, Miss Gittins, of Leicester, emphasised the value of the right teaching of the duties of citizenship. Among girls, she said, the same love and self-sacrifice which they desired to inculcate in home life were needed for purifying the world outside, where women were always wanted. She thought the enfranchisement of women would do good.

An American Portia.

In the New York Appellate Division, last month, Miss Mary Coleman appeared as Counsel on behalf of Dr. Julia Seton Sears for a writ of mandamus to compel an election board to register her as a voter. Dr. Sears had been a voter in Colorado, and insisted upon her right to vote for Presidential electors in New York after a year's residence. Miss Coleman said that the 14th amendment to the Constitution protected every citizen against hostile and discriminating legislation. Dr. Sears, having voted at three National elections, was deprived in the New York State of the right of franchise. No parallel case had ever been brought before any other Court, and she wanted to know whether the Courts were going to hand down to posterity the question, "When is a citizen not a citizen?" and give the answer, "When she is a woman." Justice Scott suggested that, as each State had the right of deciding what should constitute electoral qualifications, it was open to the State of New York to say, for example, that only males of 18 years of age should vote. To which Miss Coleman replied: "The trouble with you men is that you don't know the difference between qualification and discrimination. Any male can at one time in his life attain the qualification of being 18. There may be all sorts of other qualifications with which women as well as men could comply, but the question of sex rests with God Almighty alone, and any curtailing of privileges based upon a question of sex alone is

therefore a discrimination." In conclusion, Miss Coleman cited cases to prove that rights already acquired by a citizen are guaranteed by the 14th amendment. She also referred to the opinion of Justice Bradley, that it is futile to argue that only members of the African race were intended to be benefited by the amendment. "The Supreme Courts all over the country," she said, "are continually harping on the inestimable privilege of the suffrage. Now, if it is such a privilege, I want it to be understood that it is going to be argued and insisted upon that the white woman as well as the negro man must be guaranteed the protection of a right she has already acquired." The Court reserved decision.

Italian Deputies and Woman Suffrage.

An amendment to a Bill for the reorganisation of the Chamber of Commerce, which was before the Italian Parliament recently, proposed to confer the right to vote in the elections for those bodies upon all women engaged in business who are more than 21 years of age, who have passed a certain educational standard, and who are liable to income-tax. The Government, however, pointed out that a Commission is at present sitting to consider the larger question of female suffrage in general, and that the acceptance of this particular proposal would prejudice the issue before the Commission. The amendment was accordingly defeated by a small majority.

Equal Work but Not Equal Pay.

An application made by the women sanitary inspectors before the Westminster City Council to be placed on an equality as regards salary with the male inspectors has been rejected, with the comment made by a councillor that if they could not stand the continued mental strain of the work they could resign. He further suggested to the Council that there were plenty of women to be obtained for the work at a salary of £75 a year with an annual increment of £5. No motion was put, and the subject was dropped. The salary of women sanitary inspectors is £110 per annum, rising by annual increments of £10 to £160 per annum, while the salary of the male sanitary inspectors commences at £150 per annum, rising by annual increments of £10 to £220 per annum. The attitude of the Council is the more illogical because, on the ground that no distinction could be made between men and women officers, it recently refused to fix a lower superannuation age-limit for the women inspectors, stating that men and women must be treated alike.

Women in Russia.

Many well-known Russian women in scientific and social circles will take part in an important congress to be held shortly in St. Petersburg. A number of reports on women's work will be presented to the congress, which will be divided into four sessions, and will deal with:—(1) The position of Russian women in and out of the home; (2) the economic position of women; (3) the political and social position of women at home and abroad, and the question of women's suffrage in Russia; (4) education. The congress, which is convened by the Women's Franchise Society, is the first of its kind to be held in Russia, and will last ten days.

An Italian Lady Barrister.

Signorina Olga Lollini, who pleaded last week before the Council of Discipline of the Italian Bar for admission to the practice of procuratore, was successful, the case being decided in her favour. Signorina Lollini is the daughter of one of the Deputies in the Italian Parliament.

French Women and Industrial Disputes.

French electors have not lost much time in availing themselves of the Senate's Amending Act under which women are eligible to sit on the *Conseils des Prudhommes*. A "Conseiller Prudhomme" (or "Prud'homme," as the *Daily Telegraph* suggests) is a commercial judge who decides trade disputes, and the new law not only renders women eligible for this office, but extends the franchise to women for the election of councillors. Of five women nominated, one, Mme. Clémence Jusselin, has been elected; she was nominated by the dressmakers of Paris, and her name stood at the head of the poll. Mme. Jusselin regards her success as "an almost historic event, for," she says, "it is something to be proud of to be the first woman in France whose name has come out at the top of a legally recognised ballot. And now," she adds, "let us to work."

A Lifeboat Launched by Women.

During the recent fogs, when a steamer ran ashore near Aldeburgh, the women of the town assisted to launch the lifeboat, all the fishermen being away sprat-catching. This is the second time within the last few months that the launching of a lifeboat by women has come to the knowledge of the public, the other case being at Runswick Bay last September, of which we gave an illustration at the time (September 17).

ECHOES OF THE ALBERT HALL.

Extracts from the Press.

ABERDEEN "EVENING GAZETTE," December 7.

A Rejected Olive Branch.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer must feel, after Saturday afternoon's meeting in the Royal Albert Hall, that there is something in the Women's Suffrage movement. According to Lady Bamford Slack, he came "as a dove from the Government ark," but ere he had proceeded far, he had his plumage ruffled as badly as the unfortunate sea-gull who in its lonely flight across the ocean had the misfortune to be struck by a wireless telegraph message. Mr. Lloyd George duly held out the olive branch, but the militant Suffragists in the hall weren't having any greenery just then, and accordingly the verdant symbol of peace wilted in his grasp. "Deeds, not words! Deeds, not words!" How this sentence must be ringing in the ears of the national purse-bearer. They must haunt him as did the chimes which had such a weird and significant sound for poor "Trotty" Veck. Perhaps it would have been better if Mr. Asquith, in the rôle of Noah, had not contented himself by remaining snugly in his ark, but had accompanied his "dove" in its precarious mission. There is little likelihood, however, that the Premier would have fared any better than his lieutenant. "Deeds, not words!" These words rang out as clearly and as tellingly as did the notes of Miss Maloney's bell at Dundee. But, after all, there is something in words if wisely and judiciously directed, and if they are to the point. We used to write in our copy-books in our youth that "Procrastination is the thief of time," and "Never put off till to-morrow what you can do to-day." These are the little precepts which the militant Suffragists are determined the members of the Government shall not lose sight of, and they have added one more exercise to their political writing lesson—"Votes for Women." Mr. Lloyd George afforded them an opportunity above all opportunities of inculcating their little lesson on Saturday afternoon. They seized it, and carried it to a triumphant issue. The women Liberals who hold up their hands in horror at the "unconstitutional" methods of their militant sisters, must allow that these methods are not unknown in the ranks of the party to which they profess support. They have also doubtless concluded, after the three hours of extreme animation in the Albert Hall on Saturday, that the women who demand the franchise with so much energy and directness are determined that the Government shall "deliver the goods" without further delay, and will not be put off or turned aside from their purpose by fluttering fantasies. The latest report indicates that the flood is rising rapidly.

"EVENING NEWS," December 7.

The Message!

A very large number of women assembled in the Albert Hall on Saturday to hear a message from Mr. Lloyd George, Chancellor of the Exchequer in His Majesty's Government, concerning women's suffrage. It certainly took this eminent statesman some time to deliver his message, owing to the fact that a small but extremely active minority of the ladies present had no desire to hear it, but when at length something resembling peace reigned in the great hall, and Mr. Lloyd George was allowed to proceed with his epoch-making announcement, it turned out to be something very like an insult to the intelligence of his audience.

The message about which so much fuss had been made was very much in the nature of a gramophone record of Mr. Asquith's pledge to a private deputation in May. Mr. Lloyd George simply repeated his leader's pledge, and added nothing useful or illuminating to it, so that the net result of the pronouncement is that the Cabinet, so far as it can be said to have any mind on the matter at all, is of the same opinion that it was in May last! Really, it seems very like a practical joke in rather doubtful taste, and we should not wonder in the least if the effect of the meeting were noticeably to swell the ranks of the more militant section of the Suffragists.

As to the Asquith record rendered by Mr. Lloyd George, it reached the limit of political feebleness. "We can't make up our minds concerning the question of women's suffrage," says Mr. Asquith, in effect; "we are, indeed, hopelessly divided on the matter, but if somebody chooses to move a suffragist amendment to the Reform Bill which the Government intends to introduce before the dissolution, we shall neither oppose it nor support it officially. The members of the Cabinet will just vote according to their private inclinations, and if the supporters of the amendment come out of the division victorious, the Government will give them recognition and a blessing!"

Surely that is not a very dignified attitude to adopt. It is carrying the principle of democratic Government rather too far, and it would soon reduce politics in Parliament to an unseemly scramble.

Of course, from Mr. Asquith's point of view, this please-your-selves-gentlemen policy has one advantage; it is impossible for the Government which follows it consistently to be defeated. At the same time, there is a certain lack of dignity involved in waiting for the result of a division, and then solemnly declaring that the policy of the majority is the policy of the Government. There are, indeed, hasty-tempered Englishmen and Englishwomen who might denounce such a course as an exhibition of rank cowardice.

Mr. Asquith, who is echoed by Mr. Lloyd George, admits that the question of women's suffrage is ripe for legislation. If the Cabinet cannot make up its mind on the subject, then the sooner we get a Cabinet that has a mind that is capable of being made up, the better for the country.

"PALL MALL GAZETTE," December 7.

The Cabinet, Mr. Lloyd George says, are divided in personal opinion upon the question, and he might have added that the Prime Minister himself is not a supporter of woman suffrage. That being so, Ministers appear to think that they are thereby absolved from the duty of making up the collective Ministerial mind, and shouldering the collective Ministerial responsibility. It does not speak well for the fibre of the Liberal party—or, for that matter, of any other party—that they should imagine that this attempt to sneak and shuffle out of the recognised obligation of leadership should suggest itself to them as a practical policy. But, then, their obligation of leadership has never been realised by the present Government.

"EDINBURGH EVENING DISPATCH," December 7.

Mr. Lloyd George told Saturday's meeting that two-thirds of the members of the Cabinet were in favour of this policy, and in this way the Government will assume the responsibility, and allow the dissentients freedom to differ. In vain, however, is the net spread before the Suffragette birds, which are shrewd enough to perceive that a revolutionary reform scheme of the greatest magnitude is not thus likely to be accepted by the House of Lords without even having been submitted to the country or proposed by a united Government.

"MANCHESTER GUARDIAN."

The promise of a Parliamentary Reform Bill in which the question of women's franchise would be left open to the House of Commons—the promise which was the main purport of Mr. Lloyd George's address at the Albert Hall on Saturday—would be more satisfactory to women and more interesting to politicians of either sex if there were any strong chance of the Bill becoming law.

From "The London Letter," December 7.

There has really been only one subject of importance here over the week-end—yesterday's meeting at the Albert Hall—and it is not an easy one to write about. It may be that the militant women have yet to make in the ranks of women the distinction they have already made in the ranks of men. The half-hearted supporter has been weeded out pretty clearly in Parliament and among the mass of men outside; he is now professing himself "alienated." Very likely the same process will now go on more rapidly among women. A more serious matter is the question of the treatment of the interrupters. I am afraid that it was by all accounts generally bad, and so many people saw it yesterday who had never seen such a thing before that the question must, one would think, be discussed in a new way. The handling of the interrupters was worse than ever, and showed in some cases thoroughly "bad blood." If the stewards were not themselves to blame for violence (a point on which it is impossible to be certain) they were not discreet in the way they leapt at the first interruptions. They and all who were responsible for the meeting were obviously very nervous and so apprehensive of trouble that they rushed to meet it. Consequently they provoked the very thing which should have been avoided—namely, rousing and fidgeting the audience. The greater part of the noise came from the audience's irritation at the interruptions. Probably Mr. Lloyd George would have done more wisely if he had kept any general matter intended for outside consumption to the end of his speech. No doubt he may have calculated on getting the interruptions over on this part of his speech and having peace for the rest. But the line he took is one more of the curious indications that even sympathisers with the movement among men are perpetually failing to see the real position of women on the question. It is so inevitable a failure that it might almost become a rule now that no man should be the chief speaker at a meeting of women on Women's Suffrage. A set speech from even the most advanced of men can hardly help containing some provoking blindnesses.

"MANCHESTER GUARDIAN," December 8.

Everywhere one goes to-day the subject of the Albert Hall meeting still comes up. A curious feature of the Suffragist disturbances is that they cause a crack right across accepted opinion. I have found some Conservatives enthusiastic about the militant methods, saying that the women are plucky and taking a straight way to their end. I have heard a Radical strongly urging that it would be the best thing possible for Radicalism if they would adopt similar tactics themselves. It would clear the movement, he said, of the half-hearted and would attract the best fighting material to the standard, if to be a Radical meant to be one who would stand up at any cost and do his part to prevent a Tory leader from spreading his errors. There are some things better than free speech, he urged, and one is to show that you will suffer for the cause.

"THE ABERDEEN FREE PRESS."

For the Suffragists it must be said that they gave fair warning of their design. In the circumstances, the meeting was a blunder. The treatment which has recently been meted out to the Suffragists—treatment utterly unworthy of Liberal traditions, and in sharp contrast to the indulgence given to lawlessness in Ireland—has exasperated feeling intensely, and the women Liberals knew well the risk they ran of having their meeting wrecked. Mr. Lloyd George had no new announcement to make; he could not hold out any hope to the Suffragists that their demand for immediate action would be conceded. He could but follow the old policy of promising, which, as practised for at least 40 years, has become tiresome. Lady McLaren declared on Saturday that Mr. Asquith's position "marked a great advance. It was not a flirtation"—which implies that hitherto it has been nothing else—"but a promise and a breach of promise could only be committed at the expense of honour." But has it not been breach of promise all through, and never more flagrantly than now, when a party pledged up to the hilt in favour of the suffrage, a party put into power largely through the efforts of Women Liberals, stand like dumb dogs, doing nothing? Here is a non-party question—a question, as the women Liberals testify, of simple justice—which could have been settled easily and quickly in a tithe of the time which has been wasted over contentious and abortive measures. By their acquiescence in the procrastination of the Government—procrastination allied with a stupid petulance and most impolitic harshness—the women Liberals are only playing into the hands of the Conservatives, who, under the circumstances, would be only too eager to "dish the Whigs" in this matter whenever they have the opportunity. Women Liberals profess to be aghast at the "unconstitutional" methods of the fighting line. They are to be excused. They must be charmingly young, or they must have delightfully short memories. Why, the "unconstitutionality" of which they complain—in the shape of both interruption and rowdiness—was, even before the lowering of the franchise, an accepted mode of Liberal demonstration. Many a poor "Tory" meeting—and merely because it was a "Tory" meeting—was upset by the Liberals. The present Lord Chief Justice, when plain Mr. J. H. A. Macdonald, was howled down by Liberals for some two or three hours at Haddington—he did not get more than three sentences uttered—because he appeared as a "Tory," and at a later meeting in Aberdeen he was stifled by similar uproar. These doings were cited, not as a proof of unfitness for the franchise, but as a triumphant vindication of Liberal freedom and enlightenment. The procedure of the militant Suffragists is of a milder order, but, thanks to a Liberal Government, the offenders are haled to prison, and sentenced as criminals. Apart from all considerations as to fitness and expediency, the possession of even a spark of the saving sense of humour should have prevented the Liberals from such floundering and blundering.

"THE DAILY RECORD," Glasgow, December 7.

Ministers, one might have supposed, would have had minds of their own on so important a question as Woman Suffrage whenever it was broached, and have spoken out fairly and fearlessly one way or another without waiting to see how events were likely to shape themselves. The Cabinet that exhibits a lack of moral courage when confronted with a national question of this kind simply invites disorder. The treatment meted out to the female suffrage measures introduced into Parliament recently by private Members can hardly be forgotten by the militant ladies.

"THE DUNDEE COURIER," December 7.

The procedure mapped out is sheer poltroonery. The Government are running away from the issue instead of fearlessly facing it. They need not try to represent this new attitude as an acceptance of the principle of "Votes for Women." If they had actually accepted it they would not hesitate for a moment to embody in a Government measure, or forthwith to adopt Mr. Stanger's Bill. To intimate that a private member will be allowed to move an amendment to the Franchise Bill, embodying the principle, is as little satisfactory as it would be to tell a crowning man that you

couldn't see your way to pull him out yourself, but you wouldn't interfere with anybody else who might happen to come on the scene, and set about doing so.

So long as members of the Cabinet who favour Women's Suffrage are content to be dominated by those who oppose it, no satisfactory outcome is possible. Mr. Lloyd George and his "message" notwithstanding, the Suffragettes may be trusted to realise this, and to act accordingly.

"GLASGOW HERALD," December 7 (London Letter).

Mr. Lloyd George has also blundered. There was no reason why he should go to the Albert Hall yesterday, and turn the place into pandemonium. He knew that his presence would incite a large section of the audience to riot, and he may congratulate himself that bruises were the only injuries suffered by the crowd.

"THE NATION," December 12.

The Suffragettes have some ground for thinking the suggested proceeding unreal. If the Suffrage amendment were carried how could the Prime Minister, who is opposed to Woman Suffrage, support it *ex animo*? And how could the Government go to the country on it so long as its own ranks were divided?

"LEEDS MERCURY," December 8.

The members of the Government appear to be possessed of the delusion that because they are disunited on the votes question they can shirk the clear responsibility that rests upon them to give the lead, and to make up their minds and act accordingly.

"THE STANDARD," December 9.

The representative of the *Standard* at the Albert Hall meeting writes:—

Some of the worst acts of unnecessary violence took place within ten yards of the chairwoman's table, and, therefore, right under the eyes of Lady McLaren and Mr. Lloyd George. The men responsible for those acts were stewards, wearing the official yellow rosette.

SURPRISED ODE OF REMONSTRANCE TO A STRONG MAN WHO SITS STILL.

You've splendid muscles; why forswear
The privilege of such a frame?
Listen: That woman over there
Is going to urge her monstrous claim;
Roll up your sleeves, my Hercules,
Have done with empty chivalries.

Is it perhaps you didn't hear?
You still don't seem to understand.
Wait while I shout it in your ear:
That woman menaces our land.
She's going to speak, the harridan:
Now knock her down; be manly, man!
(Good heavens, the fellow's like a fish!)
How can you stand so idly by?
'Tis her effrontery to wish
A finger in the nation's pie:
To wish, nay, more, demand a vote.
How can you hear and keep your coat?

Have you no outraged feelings, none,
That such a creature, merely fit
To be the mother of your son,
Should want a vote and work for it?
Should dare to any seriousness
Beyond the latest thing in dress?

Have you no feelings? Don't you know
The hearth's the married woman's sphere,
And as for spinsters, they can sew,
Type-write and draw the nation's beer?
These are their duties; don't you boil
To hit them when they leave such toil?

I give you up; you're out of date,
A fossil, not a man at all,
Compared with those, at any rate,
Who triumphed at the Albert Hall:
Brave fellows, not so strong as you,
But patriotic, jealous, true.

England, one feels, is safe with them;
Safe, while they double dogged fists;
They wear man's charter like a gem,
And have short ways with Feminists.
Take pattern, you; roll up your sleeves:
Our golden rule with rebel Eves.

RAYARD N. S.

The National Women's Social & Political Union.

OFFICE:

4, CLEMENTS INN, STRAND, W.C.

Telegrams:—"WOSPOLU, LONDON."

Telephones: Holborn 2724 (two lines).

Mrs. PANKHURST,
Founder and Hon. Sec.Mrs. PETHICK LAWRENCE,
Hon. Treasurer.Mrs. TUKE,
Joint Hon. Sec.Miss CHRISTABEL PANKHURST,
Organising Sec.

Constitution.

OBJECTS.—To secure for women the Parliamentary vote as it is or may be granted to men; to use the power thus obtained to establish equality of rights and opportunities between the sexes; and to promote the social and industrial well-being of the community.

METHODS.—The objects of the Union shall be promoted by—

1. Action entirely independent of all political parties.
2. Opposition to whatever Government is in power until such time as the franchise is granted.
3. Participation in Parliamentary Elections in opposition to the Government candidate, and independently of all other candidates.
4. Vigorous agitation upon lines justified by the position of outlawry to which women are at present condemned.
5. The organising of women all over the country to enable them to give adequate expression to their desire for political freedom.
6. Education of public opinion by all the usual methods, such as public meetings, demonstrations, debates, distribution of literature, newspaper correspondence, and deputations to public representatives.

MEMBERSHIP.—Women of all shades of political opinion who approve the objects and methods of the Union, and who are prepared to act independently of party, are eligible for membership. It must be clearly understood that no member of the Union shall support the candidate of any political party in Parliamentary elections until women have obtained the parliamentary vote. The entrance fee is 1s.

The Women's Social and Political Union are asking for votes for women on the same terms as they are possessed by men.

They are not asking for the vote for every woman, but that a woman shall not be refused a vote simply because she is a woman.

The Women's Social and Political Union claim that a simple measure, giving the vote to women on these terms, shall be passed next Session.

WELCOME CHRISTABEL PANKHURST!

Great joy is the predominating note in all our thoughts at the present time, for next Tuesday sees the release, after many weeks of detention in prison, of one of the two deeply revered and beloved founders of the Women's Social and Political Union. In our hearts to-day a welcome is being prepared of infinite gladness and of infinite honour and love.

Christabel Pankhurst! Who can tell what hope, what vision, what possibility, what joy in conflict, what certainty of victory are bound up in the hearts of women to-day with that name?

To women whose backs have been bent under age-long subjection; to women whose hearts have been subdued by age-long sorrow; to women patient with the burden of birth and death, which they have carried since the human race began, there has suddenly come the call to arise and lift up their hearts, and the voice that proclaims deliverance is the voice of the very spirit of dauntless and conquering youth, strong, joyous, and confident, and untouched by the shadow of fear. It is the voice of the very spirit of the dawn, which even as it tells of a coming day brings the light of the rising sun.

Christabel! Christabel! As the dawn to the waiting earth upon whose breast have lain all night the chilling mists of tears, so are you dear to the hearts of women.

Long, long, we waited for your coming. Too well have we learned the lesson of sorrow and of patience. Fear was upon us, and the anguish of womanhood had subdued us and brought us under submission.

Then you came like the young Siegfried in his maiden might. Like him you took the broken pieces of the weapon of destiny, and welded them into "Needful," the magic sword. Like him, utterly without the knowledge of fear, you have gone forth to break the curse of a terrible domination.

Child of destiny! Spirit of the dawn! You will emerge undimmed even from the black recesses of a common gaol, for until the appointed time you are immune from the griefs which pierce and wound the hearts of those to whom has not been given at birth your magic armour.

All the wit of your enemy, all their evil machinations and devices are doomed to come to naught. They cannot teach you that one lesson, which life itself has never taught you. They cannot teach you the meaning of hesitation or fear.

Dauntless champion! Herald of the coming day of deliverance, whose story is already written in the book of Fate. We glory in your courage, in your overcoming youth, in the unshadowed morning radiance of your spirit, that has never known eclipse, in your laughing zest for conflict that has never experienced the check of failure or defeat.

You who come to meet us out of the sunlit plains of a future which we know only as a bright dream, we love you differently, but not one whit less than we love your mother, who has walked with women through the valleys of shadow, carrying the burden of all their sorrow, forgetful of her own.

I do not know what you will be to the women who are to come after us. I will not speak of what you are to those in this movement, whose feet are still upon the threshold of life, but to the women who have lived and suffered, and wept, you are the living fulfilment of their earliest and brightest hopes. You are the living denial of the bitter lessons of futility and disappointment which precept and the limitations of inheritance and environment have tried to teach them. For them you challenge experience. Striking off its hideous mask you reveal the fair child beneath, who is the promise of the days to be. For them you stand as the messenger of the sun in the heavens, the bulwark against the fears that have haunted the long night.

Maiden warrior! We give you rapturous welcome. Go forth with the fiat of the future, strong in the gladness and youth of your dauntless spirit to smite with your sword of destiny the forces of stupidity and unreasoning prejudice, and blind domination.

Far away upon the fire-girt mountain top sleeps the womanhood that is both human and divine. She will not awake nor give unto the world her lore of wisdom and of love until you and we have accomplished all that has been decreed.

Emmeline Pethick Lawrence.

THE HOUSE OF LORDS CAMPAIGN.

Have Women a Part in the Struggle?

On Friday last, at the National Liberal Club, the Prime Minister made his long-expected statement on the House of Lords. It was listened to with breathless interest by his supporters anxious to know what action the Government proposed to take, but when it was all over they came away very little wiser than they went in.

It is true that Mr. Asquith said: "I invite the Liberal party to-night to treat the veto of the House of Lords as the dominating issue in politics." That certainly looked as if the Government meant to fight; but he also said: "The Government will advise a dissolution not at the bidding of an irresponsible assembly, but when, in their own discretion, they think it right," which suggested that the fight might be indefinitely postponed, for there can be no fighting the House of Lords by word alone. Perhaps the most enlightening part of his speech had reference to the Budget for 1909, with regard to which he said: "The Budget of next year will stand at the very centre of our work. I was going to say that by it we should stand or fall, but by it we shall be judged both by the present generation and by posterity." This certainly suggests a fighting Budget for 1909, which will perhaps bring on, in an acute form, a conflict between the two Houses through the refusal of the Peers to grant supplies.

What Mr. Asquith Means to Do.

Probably the most intelligible construction to be put on Mr. Asquith's speech is as follows:—The Government intend to go on much as if nothing had happened; they are in no hurry to face a dissolution, on the other hand, they do not mean to confine their attempts at legislation to non-controversial measures, but to work with a view to a climax in 1910, when they will join direct issue with the Lords over a Bill to curtail their power of veto. Meanwhile, if the House of Lords go so far as to reject the Budget, an immediate dissolution will take place in 1909. But the Liberal members who have seen a "House of Lords campaign" inaugurated so many times before and never come to anything but words are wondering whether this time anything more real is likely to happen.

In this conflict between the Commons and the Lords women have no part. The Liberals say that the House of Lords is unrepresentative; so far as women are concerned the House of Commons is equally unrepresentative. If the issue is fought over the Budget the Liberals will say that that House which is responsible to the people ought to be the House to have the deciding voice in determining what taxes the people ought to pay; women will answer that they are among the people who pay the taxes, but the House of Commons is not in any way responsible to them. No women, therefore, who respect their womanhood will take any direct part in this struggle. Instead, they will use this opportunity, when the Constitutional issue has been raised, to drive home the urgency of the enfranchisement of their sex. They will say to the members of the Liberal Government: "So long as you refuse to put your principles into practice in the case of women you cannot make appeal to these principles

in your warfare with the Lords. If you attempt to do so we shall prick the bubble and prove the hypocrisy of which you are guilty. You may exclude women from your meetings and pack them with your own followers, but you will not escape thereby, because in your own hearts you will know the falseness of your position, and the country will have but one word for your fine phrases—*humbug*."

The Parlous State of the Government.

The present position of the Liberal Government is one of deplorable weakness, and Liberal politicians and the Liberal Press are aware of the fact. They have come to an *impasse*; they cannot carry their Bills into law; yet they are equally afraid of facing the country now, or of postponing the day of reckoning. For they are fast losing the confidence which was placed in them by the country in 1906. The long succession of by-elections all tell the same story. If it were not so the House of Lords would not dare to reject measure after measure sent up to them by the Liberal Government, and even if they had this hardihood, the Government would know that at any moment they could turn to the constituencies, and by gaining a hearty vote of confidence at a general election sweep all obstacles from their path. That they dare not do so is due to the feeling which has been engendered by the by-election defeats. And these defeats have been brought about by the women.

The Women's Social and Political Union started to fight the Liberal Government when it was at the height of its strength and the height of its popularity. They have dogged the footsteps of the Government at every stage in its career. At by-elections they have not turned aside to take into account the pious opinions of individual candidates, they have gone straight for a vote of "no confidence" in the Government, and the constituencies have given it in no uncertain voice. At the meetings of Cabinet Ministers they have checked the flow of fine phrases in the mouths of Liberal statesmen with pertinent interruptions which have brought home the unreality which lies behind. They have fought right through from the beginning, they have struck at the power and the prestige of the Liberal Government, and mainly through their exertions it is now weak and disheartened. The Liberal Government has a final alternative presented to it of doing justice to women or perishing in its futile resistance; for women have it in their power to destroy the Government unless it yields to their demands.

No False Pity!

So great is the sense of pity in women that some of them may feel some qualms at this stage in pressing home their victory. The Liberal women in particular are anxious to succour their party in its hour of need. But such counsels are not counsels of virtue, but of contemptible weakness. Women are fighting the Liberal Government not for some personal advantage, but for the triumph of great ideals, for the righting of a great wrong, for the establishment of those Liberal principles which the so-called Liberal Government are trampling in the dust. They have not waited for this hour of weakness of the Liberal party to commence their attack, they have not been afraid of the conflict when it was its hardest, and they are entitled now to reap its reward. They owe it to the sacred trust which is committed to them to strike now, and to strike hard, in the absolute confidence that the victory is close at hand.

F. W. Pethick Lawrence.

WELCOMING MRS. BAINES.

Mrs. Baines, the first woman to be tried by jury for participation in the militant agitation, was released from Armley Gaol, Leeds, at 6 a.m. on Friday, after serving technically six weeks' imprisonment. As a matter of fact, she learnt on entering the gaol that she had already served two weeks (the duration of the Assizes), and there was an additional week's remission for good behaviour. She was met at the prison gates by her father, mother, and daughter, "General" Drummond, Miss Crocker (both of whom travelled to Leeds for the purpose of welcoming her back to the N.W.S.P.U.), Miss Adela Pankhurst, and by many local members and friends, and a large crowd of the general public, who gave her a hearty cheer as she emerged from the gate. Owing to her record of "good behaviour" while in prison, Mrs. Baines was released earlier than usual, and by the main entrance, not that by which prisoners are usually discharged.

A novel feature of the welcome was the drawing of the carriage three miles' distance by women attired in the clogs and shawls of the Yorkshire mill-hand, and the procession as it passed through the streets at that early hour attracted considerable attention. Near the Lancashire and Yorkshire railway station four

Women's Enfranchisement Bill, carried by Miss Wentworth; then women in prison dress, carrying two large banners, one with the word "Welcome" and the other with the words "National Women's Social and Political Union." Mrs. Baines' carriage followed; then came another tri-colour and the second band, and last the procession of members of the N.W.S.P.U. on foot, reinforced by many men and women sympathisers. Trafalgar-square was reached shortly after two o'clock, the bands playing the "Marschallaise" as the demonstrators filed in towards the plinth. Mrs. Baines was escorted to the platform by Mrs. Pethick Lawrence and Mrs. Drummond, and was greeted by a round of cheering from the crowd. Behind the "platform," on a superior projecting base, ex-prisoners, stationed two at each corner, upheld the banners.

Mrs. Drummond, alluding to the statement made that the proceedings at Albert Hall had damaged the cause, intimated that, far from any such result having happened, the Union had since Saturday enlarged its premises.

Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, whose allusion to the imprisonment of Mrs. Baines called forth shouts of "Shame!" from many of the men present, said the question which Mrs. Baines had wished to put to the Prime Minister and the Home Secretary at Leeds—



Photograph by the London News Agency.

IN THE CARRIAGE.

tram-cars were held up, the drivers keeping time with the band, playing "The Cock o' th' North," on their gongs.

At Hunslet a breakfast was given in Mrs. Baines' honour at the house of Mrs. Dickinson, a well-known Leeds Suffragette, and on the following day (Saturday) Mrs. Baines, with "General" Drummond, travelled to London, where a special welcome awaited her.

The travellers were met at King's Cross Station by a large contingent of the N.W.S.P.U., who had two bands and a carriage drawn by a pair of white horses in readiness. A bouquet in the colours of the Union was presented to Mrs. Baines by Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, and to the strains of "See, the conquering hero comes," the procession left by way of Euston-road, Tottenham-court-road, and Charing Cross-road, for Trafalgar-square. The procession was a very picturesque one, and a large number of people accompanied the women, and cheered them on their way, while the tri-colour of purple, white, and green was shown from some of the houses en route.

The procession was headed by Miss Marsh, who carried the tri-colour, and who was followed by Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Mrs. Tuke, Miss Sylvia Pankhurst, "General" Drummond, Miss Jessie Kenney, Miss Kerr, Mrs. Sanders, and Miss Hambling. Then came the first band, followed by another banner, with the words of the

"Why don't you practise what you preach?"—was going to be put to members of the Cabinet still more forcibly in future. It had been put to Mr. Birrell at Nottingham on the previous evening, but all he could say was, "I don't know!" It was something to have inspired such holy terror in the hearts of the Liberals. If the Government did not give way, they would be more frightened of the women yet.

Mrs. Baines was most cordially cheered by the crowd on coming forward to speak. She expressed the honour she felt it to suffer for the cause. Whatever the sentence, she declared, she would not give in. (Cheers.) Proceeding, she dwelt upon the work for women which the possession of the vote would help the Suffragists to do, alluding especially to temperance work, in which she has had great experience. "They tell women," she said, "not to dabble in politics. Then why do politics interfere with women?" Women were considered too delicate to vote, but they were not too delicate to work 60 or 70 hours a week, or to live lives of misery and shame. Throughout her thoughtful and forcible appeal to the crowd, which was largely composed of working men, Mrs. Baines had a respectful and attentive hearing, one or two argumentative persons who made audible objections being silenced by others with "You're losing a good speech; let's hear what the lady has to say." Among the crowd were Mr. Keir Hardie, M.P., and Mr. John Burns, M.P. The meeting concluded, the procession re-formed, and marched, by way of Cockspur-street, Regent-street, and Oxford-street, to Clements Inn.

HECKLING CABINET MINISTERS.

In consequence of his experience at the Albert Hall, Mr. Lloyd George has decided to retaliate by not addressing women any more—except in his own constituency, and the *Daily News* poster on Monday (14th) appeared with the following headlines:—NO WOMEN AT MR. LLOYD GEORGE'S MEETINGS. The *Daily Express* referred to Mr. Lloyd George's terror, and said that the Chancellor, whom his supporters loved to call the most fearless of politicians, had had to acknowledge defeat—and by women at that. Mr. Lloyd George received a special invitation to the Queen's Hall meeting to-night, the notice having been handed to him and to Mr. John Burns as they were leaving the banquet to the Prime Minister at the National Liberal Club on Friday. The Chancellor told the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion at the Hotel Metropole that it was rather hard on a poor public man in these days—it was not often that he got a chance of talking at all—(laughter)—and when he succeeded, it was after a dire struggle.

Mr. Birrell at Nottingham.

Mr. Birrell, too, is protesting that he will not be heckled, except in his own constituency, and women were almost entirely excluded from his Nottingham meeting on Friday last.

Profiting by Mr. Asquith's experience in that town a few months ago, when (according to the local Press), "despite weeks of precaution, the harmony of the gathering was seriously disturbed" by militant Suffragists, hardly any tickets were issued to women for Friday's meeting, and the Liberal agent personally mounted guard and scrutinised each ticket-holder as she arrived. Even the Press tickets were marked "Men only." Outside a most effective protest was made. "Questions to right of him, questions to left of him," and even after he got inside the passage leading to the speaker's entrance a woman, leaving her seat in the adjoining library, met Mr. Birrell in the passage, and walked with him to the door leading to the platform, while she quietly but persistently put to him the question,

"When are you going to put your Liberal principles into practice, Mr. Birrell?" "I don't know," was the reply.

"How long are British women to demand their constitutional rights?" she pursued. But to this there was no answer.

While he addressed the meeting within, women held a protest meeting outside in Trinity-square, where they had the sympathy of all but the inevitable human boy. At the close of his speech Mr. Birrell said the ladies had been "very kind." He did not, however, recognise the rights of anybody, except those resident in his own constituency, to heckle him. His enunciation of his views on woman suffrage were hailed by a member of the audience as "Half and half." The carriage by which Mr. Birrell left the hall was surrounded by police, and again the questions Cabinet Ministers have learnt to dread were heard: "How many more women are going to be sent to prison? How much longer are they to be treated as common criminals?"

Mr. Haldane in Lancashire.

Lancashire also was active on Saturday in the pursuit of a Cabinet Minister. Mr. Haldane, on his arrival in Manchester, was met by a woman, who presented him with a copy of VOTES FOR WOMEN, which he assured her he would read with interest. He then proceeded to Rochdale by motor, and on his arrival was met by women in a decorated wagonette, who greeted him with the now familiar war-cry, "Votes for Women!" Women who entered the hall were—it was thought—detected (and ejected) before the meeting began; nevertheless, when Mr. Haldane spoke about the greatness of the Empire, and urged the men to come forward, and to help to take part in its defence, a woman's voice said, "Stop talking about the men, and do something for the mothers of the country!" A rush was made to get her off the premises, and while she was being dragged out she said, "A nation cannot rise above the level of its women."

Meanwhile, a protest meeting was held in the Town Hall square, and Mr. Haldane was again greeted on leaving the hall with the cry of "Votes for women," while a note was thrown in the carriage, requesting him to leave the Cabinet, with which he was not in agreement.

A BALLADE OF BRAVE WOMEN.

O ye, that woman's heart would school
To narrow codes and petty fears,
And handle from a dunce's stool
The Thread, the Distaff, and the Shears,—
O sisters, will ye not give heed
Now, and with hearts no longer tame
Look back upon the past, and read
Who were the women known to fame?

Not they who patient from the spool
Wove webs to deck them to their biers,
Not they who feared to drain, when full,
Their country's cup of blood and tears;
But they who, kindling at her need,
Went forth like men through sword and flame,
And proved them of the fighter's breed—
These are the women known to fame!

Not she, the fair domestic tool,
Who veiled her face and dulled her ears,
In latticed courts by fountains cool,
With ditties sung to dulcimers;
But she who dared the forward deed,
Who stood for right and feared no blame,
Who, breaking from false bonds, went free—
These are the women known to fame!

The maid, who left by field and pool
Her flocks, and in the crash of spears
Saved riven France from strong misrule,
And passed—with flames for charioteers.
The dame who, lest her king should bleed,
When traitors to his door set claim,
Broke flesh and bone his flight to speed—
These are the women known to fame!

Lo, she of old whose word and rule
Gave Israel peace for forty years
Lo, east and west, thrones wonderful,
Where queens sat kingliest of their peers,
And conquests won, and rights decreed,
And castles held against all that came,
Lo, through all time, who runs may read—
These are the women known to fame!

Go, Book of Life, and teach the fool
How, like Godiva stripped for shame,
High hearts can break the Tyrant's rule—
These are the women known to fame.

LAURENCE HOUSMAN.

IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

In the House of Commons on Wednesday (December 9), on the Prime Minister's statement as to what Bills would be dealt with during the remainder of the Session, Lord R. Cecil drew attention to the position of the Women's Enfranchisement Bill, pointing out that it was scarcely consistent with the dignity of the House to affirm the principle of the measure year by year and yet take no active steps to give effect to it. The present House contained a large majority in favour of the enfranchisement of women. (Hear, hear, and No, no.) About that there could be no possible doubt, and he hoped the House would be given the opportunity of seriously dealing with the measure next Session.

After dealing with other Bills, the claims of which were urged by hon. members, Mr. Asquith said, "Lord R. Cecil also introduced—I do not know with what relevancy—the question of female suffrage."

Lord R. Cecil: It is one of the Bills on the paper.

Mr. Asquith: I thought it was one of the Bills which had disappeared. Well, it escaped my notice. I am afraid I must repeat the hackneyed formula—that in the existing state of things it cannot be treated as falling within the category of non-controversial measures.

Christmas in Gaol.

Mr. MacNeill asked the Home Secretary on Monday what was the number of women enduring imprisonment at the present time owing to circumstances arising out of the Suffragist agitation, and of the imprisoned women how many were suffering imprisonment by a sentence passed by a judge on conviction after a trial by jury; what was the period of the imprisonment, and in what division, how many under sentences inflicted by magistrates, and for what terms and in what divisions had they been placed, and how many for failure to give securities to be of good behaviour although they had been convicted of no offence, and the sentence of imprisonment from which there was no appeal was regarded by law as no punishment; and whether, having regard to the circumstances and the fact that these ladies had not been guilty of any offence savouring of moral degradation, he would consider the desirability of advising the Crown to exercise its prerogative for their release, in order to enable them to spend Christmastide in their homes instead of in prison.

Mr. Gladstone: Three ladies are at present in prison. They were sentenced by a metropolitan magistrate, two to three months, and one to ten weeks' imprisonment, in default of finding securities to be of good behaviour. They are being treated under the rules for second division prisoners. As to the desirability of advising the Crown to exercise its prerogative for their release at Christmastide, I must ask to be excused from making any statement at the present time.

Mr. MacNeill: Is not the treatment accorded to these ladies slightly different from that accorded to Dr. Jameson, C.B., and his confederates?—Mr. Gladstone gave no reply.

Mr. Lonsdale: These ladies are treated with far greater severity than the cattle-drivers in Ireland.

Mr. Gladstone again made no reply.

THE CAMPAIGN THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY.

LONDON.

The event of the week has been the release of Mrs. Baines, a description of which appears on p. 202.

The At Homes in London are over until after Christmas; they will begin again on January 11. Both the Thursday and Monday At Homes during the past week were remarkable for a magnificent display of enthusiasm for the cause, and augur well for the campaign during 1909. At the close of the At Home on Monday a special cheer was given for Mrs. Lawrence for her leadership of the Union during the imprisonment of Mrs. Pankhurst and her daughter.

An energetic band of women are at work, under the direction of Miss Marsh, making a house-to-house canvass of the route from Holloway to the Inns of Court Hotel in connection with Miss Pankhurst's release. At Mrs. Baines' welcome on Saturday the tricolour was shown from some of the houses along the route taken by the procession. Chalkers are wanted to help Miss Marsh on Monday afternoon. They should come to the office, 4, Clements Inn, at 2.30.

Miss Phillips, in co-operation with the Richmond W.S.P.U., has been working up that district for the meeting which was held in the Freemasons' Hall on Monday evening (14th inst.), at which Mrs. Pethick Lawrence and Miss Brackenbury were the speakers, Miss Neal being in the chair. The hall was filled by an enthusiastic audience. In spite of rumours to the contrary, the meeting passed off quietly. £2 10s. was collected, and every seat was paid for. In order to advertise this meeting, the streets had been paraded every day by sandwich-women, distributing handbills and selling papers. On Thursday last Mrs. Barnett kindly allowed a drawing-room meeting to be held at her house, and on Friday evening Miss Phillips addressed a meeting of shop assistants at Messrs. Gosling's.

Miss Vera Wentworth has been busy in Brixton. On Tuesday in last week an open-air meeting was held outside the Kennington Theatre, Miss Kelly and Mrs. Bartlett being the speakers. Chalking parties were indefatigable in advertising the meeting held in the Raleigh Hall on Friday night. This meeting, for women only, was a great success, the hall being crowded. The speakers were Miss Naylor, Mrs. Tanner, and Miss V. Wentworth.

Mrs. Baldock reports an increase in the orders for the Christmas number of *VOTES FOR WOMEN*. It is encouraging to note that over 900 copies were sold in the procession on Saturday last, several of the onlookers buying extra copies to give away to their friends. I want to remind readers that copies of this week's issue can be obtained from Mrs. Baldock at the offices by those wishing to sell along the route on the release of Miss Pankhurst. Women who can help in the ordinary sale of *VOTES FOR WOMEN* week by week can have their copies given out at the Monday afternoon and Thursday evening At Homes, or by calling at the office, N.S.W.P.U., 4, Clements Inn, on Thursday, Friday, and Saturday, at 10 a.m., or between 6 and 7 p.m., any day except Saturday.

The protest meeting organised by the West London Unions with Miss Ogston's help was held in the King's Theatre, Hammersmith, on Saturday afternoon. Much disappointment was caused by the absence through illness of Miss Mary Gawthorpe, who was to have been in the chair. Her place was, however, taken by Miss Sylvia Pankhurst, the other speakers being Miss Evelyn Sharp, Mrs. Brownlow, and Miss Ogston, who was given a splendid reception. A novel feature was the stage, made to represent a prison cell. Miss Sylvia Pankhurst moved a resolution protesting against the imprisonment of the Suffragists in the second division as criminals, and calling upon the Government to recognise that as political offenders the women should be immediately transferred to the first division. Mrs. Brownlow said that it was not to be supposed that the agitation for the vote would either diminish or cease, so long as there were women of principle, brave enough to face the indignities of Holloway.

Flora Drummond.

WEST OF ENGLAND.

Shop and Committee Rooms: 33, Queen's-road (opposite Art Gallery), Clifton. Open from 10 a.m. to 7 p.m.

Important Event.

Bristol, Colston Hall, Mass Meeting, Friday, February 12, 8 p.m.

A new development of the work in Bristol arose out of an At Home which we held for members on Saturday (12th). We met to discuss the work for 1909, and decided to appoint captains, under the charge of Mrs. Falk, over the six districts, as follows:—

(1) Clifton: Mrs. Curtis and Mrs. Binns. (2) Redlands: Mrs. Dove Wilcox. (3) Stapleton: Miss Rose Pyke. (4) Fish Ponds: Mrs. Bailey. (5) Cotham: Mrs. Paul. (6) Bishopston: Mrs. Prichard.

Each captain has all the members in her district under her charge, to (1) to see that they are fully informed of all coming events; (2) arrange At Homes in their own homes, and invite friends not yet interested in the movement; (3) do the correspondence in their

own district, finding their own stamps; (4) sell *VOTES FOR WOMEN* in the street, and tickets for Colston Hall, give away At Home cards and handbills at concerts and public meetings; (5) undertake a house-to-house canvass. Each member is asked to try and collect £1, so as to raise £100 for the big Colston Hall meeting.

Our weekly At Homes are now over until the beginning of January. They have been a source of great interest, and a means of bringing in a very large number of new recruits. We spent three days in working up our large At Home in the Assembly Rooms, Bath, and the splendid audience more than repaid us for the time and labour. The rooms looked charming, and the collection realised £4 10s. We have had Miss Clara Mordan's help for the last three meetings, and are most grateful for her assistance. Owing to my report being held over last week, I have two weeks' finances to record for the West of England (including Plymouth and Torquay):—Collections, £9 14s. 11d.; ticket money (Miss C. Codd's reception), £4 12s.; subscriptions: Mrs. Walters, 10s.; Miss Florence Hughes, £5; Miss Baker, £1; Friend, per A. K., £2; total, £22 16s. 11d.

Plymouth and Torquay.—I have just arrived in Torquay for the meeting in the Bath Saloons on Wednesday (16th). Miss Blathwayt and Miss Ball are also here, and with Miss E. N. Howey we shall get through a great amount of work this week. On Monday and Tuesday we are driving round the town in a decorated wagonette to advertise the meeting, and there is every indication that we shall have a full hall. Mrs. Thomsett gave an interesting address at the At Home last Friday. Next week Miss Ball will speak at the Masonic Hall, Paignton. The attractive display of Christmas presents in the colours of the Union created a great amount of interest. Miss Mills presided over the meeting. A successful outdoor meeting was held during the week on Paignton Green, a large number of copies of *VOTES FOR WOMEN* being sold.

LANCASHIRE.

New Manchester Central Office: 164, Oxford-road.

Important Events.

Friday, December 18, Onward Buildings, Deansgate, last At Home before Christmas; special musical programme. Admission 6d.

January 19, 1909.—Miss Christabel Pankhurst, Free Trade Hall, 8 p.m.

Work has gone on splendidly in Manchester, in spite of the fact that I have been unable to render any but the assistance of direction all the week. Miss Flatman came up from London to assist in preparing the second requisition to the Lord Mayor. As that gentleman is unfortunately suffering from typhoid fever, we have decided, pending further developments, to postpone the matter for the present; we shall take it up later in another form. By the time these inquiries had been made, Miss Higgins, of London, was also with us, and as Rochdale was ripe for a visit, both these helpers went off there. On Sunday two great meetings are being held in this industrial centre. In the afternoon, Miss Higgins and Miss Flatman are chief speakers, and in the evening Mrs. Martel.

I have to thank Miss Lillian Williamson for deputising for me at the Horsforth Liberal Association; and, prospectively, Miss Dora Marsden, who has promised to perform a similar service for me.

Lancashire members generally are earnestly requested to note the changed address dating from Friday next, the 18th inst. Manchester members are meeting for the last time at 116, Portland-street, on the evening of Wednesday, the 16th inst. On Friday we "remove" and ordinary business will be conducted as usual at the new offices, 164, Oxford-road, henceforth. The official opening will take place early in the new year.

The Friday At Homes will close for the season on December 18, and there will be no At Home on December 25, nor on January 1, 1909. The next Friday evening At Home will take place as usual in the board room, Onward-buildings, January 8, 8 to 10. To celebrate the occasion of the last At Home, on Friday next, the 18th inst., we have a specially appropriate programme. Speaking will commence at 8 p.m. prompt, and members are asked to be present at 7 p.m.; the general public will be admitted at 7.30, and the charge for admission will be 6d. One-half of the programme will be musical. Miss Kathleen Ratcliffe will play the piano, Miss Josephine Saunders will sing, and Mrs. Duncan will recite (all members), and we are to have a special rehearsal of the "Marseillaise." I hope to preside on this auspicious occasion; and hereby thank members who have rallied to my assistance during the last few days.

Finance this week:—Horsforth Liberal Association (per Miss Williamson, lecture fee), £1 1s.; collecting cards, per Mrs. Scott, £1 1s.; per Miss Clarkson, 7s. 6d.; per Miss Lee, £1; per Miss K. Lee, £1; At Home, 17s. 9d.; total, £5 7s. 3d.

Mary E. Gawthorpe.

MIDLANDS.

Office and Committee Rooms: No. 14, Ethel-street, Birmingham.

The At Homes this week were held as usual, new members again joining. These At Homes will recommence early in January, the afternoon one at Edgbaston on Wednesday, January 6, in Wolverhampton; on Thursday evening, January 7, a special members' meeting will take place; on Tuesday, January 5, the various working committees will meet at 14, Ethel-street, to arrange the details of the new year's work. The plans are already made, and among the most important is a large meeting, at which we shall have the great pleasure of hearing Miss Christabel Pankhurst; we shall also hold a reception for her at the Edgbaston Assembly Rooms. Our VOTES FOR WOMEN corps started work on Thursday evening, and will go out again on Saturday. This is very important work. Miss Ryland, 19, Hermitage-road, Edgbaston, will be glad to receive names of all willing to help.

There has been much discussion on the Albert Hall meeting in Birmingham; therefore we were delighted to receive the article on "Mr. Lloyd George and Political Flirtation," by Mrs. Pethick Lawrence in leaflet form. Immediately on their arrival Miss Freeth and I took a bundle and distributed them in New-street, on the principle of "striking while the iron is hot." Another pile was given away to the throngs who departed by the evening trains. We are stamping all literature leaflets with our office address. Dr. Helena Jones addressed a drawing-room meeting kindly arranged by Mrs. Jolly; it took place in the evening, and I would like to here point out to members who cannot arrange afternoon meetings that evening ones are equally satisfactory, and as our list of speakers continues to grow we shall still be able to fulfil the increasing demands upon us in this respect. Dr. Jones is speaking at a large number of Sunday meetings in the new year. These are particularly important, as the audiences are intelligent and thoughtful, and their opinions influence very largely the surrounding neighbourhood.

Walsall.—The afternoon meeting at Walsall arranged by Mrs. Layton and Mrs. Barnard was splendid, and augurs well for future work in this town; new members were gained, some among them admitting that they had come in a spirit of curiosity and even opposition. More meetings are asked for, and will therefore soon be arranged. In the meantime friends and sympathisers should communicate with Mrs. Barnard, Leigh-road, in order that she may let them know when arrangements are being made in which they would like to take part.

Handsworth.—The Handsworth Parliament held an open meeting on Monday last. The procedure was in the form of a debate. I moved our usual resolution, and when put to the whole meeting it was easily carried. It is noticeable here in the Midlands that the majority of women always vote in favour of Parliamentary franchise being extended to women. At Stafford last Friday evening the resolution would have been easily carried had it lain with the women of the audience; as it was, we lost by a few votes.

Coventry.—The debate which I opened on Sex Equality *versus* Adult Suffrage in the Baths Assembly Hall was a great success last Tuesday evening, and our practical attitude won much sympathy from the audience. The members in Coventry intend to arrange a social evening early in January, when they hope to have the pleasure of hearing Dr. Helena Jones. The interest in this town continues to grow in the most encouraging manner.

I am forwarding to the treasurer this week the following amounts:—5s., Anon; 2s. 6d., Miss Patrick; 8s., Dr. Helena Jones' lecture fee; 6s. 6d., office guarantee from Rev. J. L. Tops; 6s. 6d., Miss Ward; collection, £1; 3s., Mrs. MacKay. All donations towards the Midland campaign should be addressed to me at 49, Bristol-street, Birmingham.

Ofadice G. Keevil.

YORKSHIRE.

We have been very glad during the past week of the help of Miss Crocker, who came to Leeds for Mrs. Baines' release, and has helped us greatly at our meetings. An account of Mrs. Baines' release appears on p. 202.

Bradford.—On Saturday afternoon a band of Suffragettes patrolled the streets of Bradford as sandwichmen carrying boards printed in purple, green, and white, announcing Mrs. Pethick Lawrence's meeting on Wednesday (16th). The spirit of the passers-by was friendly, and the interest in the movement is steadily increasing. In the evening a removal van was brought into service with a magic lantern inside. The back of the van was taken out, and a sheet hung up, on which were shown a number of slides illustrating the movement. At convenient corners a bell was rung, announcements made, and speeches were given by Miss Harland, Miss Roberts, Miss Urquhart, and Miss Steventon. Some good propaganda work was accomplished, many women coming up to the van for tickets. A museum is being opened of interesting trophies. In future a specimen poster, handbill, and ticket of every meeting will be kept, and we are treasuring with great care

the gum-bottle and brush which labelled Armley Gaol with our war cry on Thursday night, when, hearing a rumour that Mrs. Baines was to be released that evening, we went in a body to the prison. We are told that Mr. Herbert Gladstone is coming to visit his constituents shortly. We are quite ready.

Adela Pankhurst.

NEWCASTLE.

At the Wednesday At Home we had the pleasure of presenting to each of our three Newcastle prisoners a Boadicea brooch, with name and date of imprisonment engraved on the back. We were particularly sorry to miss Mrs. Atkinson, on account of illness in her family, but she was extremely pleased with the souvenir. The brooches were bought with a little money left over from the £31 fund. The last of our Wednesday At Homes for this year is being held on Wednesday, 16th. They will be resumed in the New Year on January 6, when it is hoped that our Newcastle members will rally in great numbers. Mrs. Atkinson will not be able, after all, to hold an At Home on the 23rd.

Miss Kathleen Brown and I have held several open-air meetings during the week. The usual meeting was held in the Haymarket on Saturday night, and, in spite of the piercing wind, a large number of people gathered. The Misses Wall are constant in their help with newspaper selling in the Haymarket, and we wish to specially thank them. The penny Christmas cards are in great demand, and we have had to send for more. Those who wish to send a special Christmas offering to the Union please send before Saturday, 19th, to Miss New, 37, Rye-hill, Newcastle, as the holidays begin next week.

Sunderland.—A debate on Woman's Suffrage is being held in the Red Hall of the Liberal Club, Sunderland, on Tuesday, 15th, at 8 p.m., when H. S. Mandahi, Esq., opposes, and I am taking the case for Woman's Suffrage.

Wallsend.—The usual At Home for women was held on Friday, and as I was unable to be there, Miss Robinson and Miss Balls took charge of it. Miss Bousfield is our chief helper with newspaper selling in Wallsend, and we wish to thank her, and ask her to persuade others to help also. A large open-air meeting was held at Wallsend on Monday night.

Edith New.

SCOTLAND.

Office, 141, Bath-street, Glasgow.

At Homes.—Edinburgh, 24, Shandwick-place, Wednesday, 4 p.m.

Glasgow, 141, Bath-street, Saturday, 3.30 p.m.

Important Event.—Aberdeen, December 19.—Miss Helen Ogston.

Mrs. Pethick Lawrence's visit has been an immense pleasure and encouragement. It opened with a large reception kindly arranged by Mrs. Maxtone Graham and Mrs. James Ivory, at the Royal Arch Hall, where Mrs. Lawrence spoke to a large and keenly interested audience on the latest developments of the suffrage question. The chair was taken by Miss S. E. S. Mair, member of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies. Dr. Elsie Inglis took part in the debate on behalf of the "Constitutionalists," and criticised the militant tactics. All shades of opinion were represented, several anti-suffragists being present. The resolution calling upon the Government to give immediate franchise to women was passed with four dissentients.

Mrs. Lees presided over the meeting at the Queen's Hall in the evening, when Mrs. Lawrence again explained the present political situation to a sympathetic audience. The response to the appeal for help was most generous, and resulted in the largest collection yet taken in Edinburgh. At the meeting in the Charing Cross Halls, in Glasgow, the audience overflowed, and a number of people could only be accommodated with standing room. Miss Milne Chapman, one of our Edinburgh members, took the chair. Mrs. Lawrence, who had an enthusiastic reception, riveted the attention of her audience for over an hour while she explained the political situation; the frequent bursts of applause which punctuated the speech showed how keenly its points were being followed, and the appeal for funds to extend the work in Scotland brought the proceeds of the meeting up to over £80. This is to be the basis of a guarantee fund of £250 which we wish to raise next year in order to extend the Scottish work. Mrs. Lawrence's engagements ended in the Lesser Albert Hall, Stirling, where among the audience was a staunch supporter of our cause who had come 15 miles to hear Mrs. Lawrence, having been converted at a by-election, when he voted against the Liberal candidate for the first time in his life to help our movement. Other engagements during the week have included a drawing-room meeting, when we had a very interesting discussion on the present position of the Government with regard to votes for women; and the Parliamentary debate arranged by the Burnbank U.F.C. Temperance Society.

We wish to express our appreciation of the very valuable and efficient help given by so many members lately, which has largely contributed towards the success of these meetings.

Notice of the Christmas holidays and of the first At Home in January will be found in next week's issue.

G. M. Conolan.

LOCAL NOTES.

Barnes W.S.P.U.—We have held two successful At Homes this month. On December 2 a lady in Barnes kindly lent her drawing-room, and Mrs. Lonsignol came and spoke. Her speech was much appreciated by those present. On December 8, at Byfield Hall, Miss Brackenbury and H. Baillie Weaver, Esq., spoke to the largest audience we have yet had at an At Home. Mr. Baillie Weaver dealt with some of the objections to Women's Suffrage in an able and effective manner, and much to the satisfaction of those present. Miss Brackenbury explained the action of the W.S.P.U. in attacking Mr. Lloyd George at the Albert Hall meeting, and by special request explained the incident of the dog-whip. We are arranging a debate for January 21, particulars of which will be announced later.

ALICIA ROSE.

Brighton and Hove W.S.P.U.—On Wednesday, December 9, we held an open-air meeting at Western Boundary. We had a good audience, sold a number of VOTES FOR WOMEN and other literature. On Friday, December 11, our weekly indoor meeting at Pavilion Creamery was well attended. Miss White presided, and gave us a history of the different Reform Bills. Miss Hare also spoke, and vindicated our action at the Albert Hall meeting on Saturday, December 5. On Saturday, December 12, at the Western Boundary, we had a large crowd, who listened closely to our arguments. A good many questions were asked, and here also the sale of literature was very satisfactory. Will anyone wishing to join the local Union please apply to hon. secretary, 209, Preston-drive for all particulars.

I. G. McKEOWN.

Edinburgh W.S.P.U.—On Wednesday last Mrs. Petrick Lawrence addressed a meeting in the Queen's Hall, when the Women's Marseillaise was sung for the first time at a suffrage meeting in Edinburgh. Mrs. Petrick Lawrence was received with loud cheers and hurrahs, and presented with a bouquet of flowers in the colours of the Union. The entire audience was unanimous in their sympathy with the cause, the names of our well-known opponents being greeted with hisses when mentioned. The collection was one of the largest taken since our Union started.

ESSON MAULE.

Hull W.S.P.U.—Hull members desire to express their very warm appreciation to Mrs. Baines and Mrs. Tanner for their noble sacrifice in so bravely enduring imprisonment, and offer our hearty congratulations to them on their release. At a general meeting, held on December 11, it was decided to dissolve as a local committee and become national members, in the hope that we may thereby further forward the movement in Hull, though the work of the past year has been by no means retrograde. It is expected that by becoming national members we shall embrace a wider field for useful work, spreading far beyond the confines to which as a local committee we are of necessity limited.

M. HARRISON.

Leicester W.S.P.U.—A special meeting of the Leicester Union was held at the Welcome Restaurant, Welford-road, Thursday, December 10, when arrangements were completed for a whist drive to be held December 30. It is hoped all members will make an effort to bring along friends to help make the drive a complete success, so that we may have a nice balance left over to help toward the expenses for the great demonstration, January 25. On that occasion we shall have our revered leader, Mrs. Pankhurst, to speak for us. We have also decided to contribute toward the testimonial to be presented to Mrs. Pankhurst on her release from Holloway. The arrangements made to welcome Miss Christabel Pankhurst on her release have given great satisfaction to our Leicester women. I wish to appeal to all Leicester sympathisers who are willing to help either with money or personal service toward making our demonstration a success, to send in their names to me at 18, Martel-road. We are taking the Corn Exchange, Leicester. We shall be glad of the practical sympathy of men and women alike. Anyone who can and will help us in our fight for freedom will find a hearty welcome awaiting them.

(MRS.) ALICE HAWKINS.

Lewisham W.S.P.U.—Miss Ogston was our speaker on Sunday afternoon on Blackheath, and thus we had a grand finale to our series of most successful Sunday meetings. A large crowd had assembled, and listened with great interest to Miss Ogston's spirited address, which dealt principally with the heckling Mr. Lloyd George received at the Albert Hall meeting. The speaker also dealt with our militant tactics. A great many questions were asked, amongst others the inevitable one about the dog-whip, and all of them were admirably answered. Fifty-six VOTES FOR WOMEN were sold, and a collection was taken. Notices re Mrs. Petrick Lawrence's debate on Woman's Suffrage at the Brockley Presbyterian Church, on December 21, were circulated among the audience.

J. A. BOUVIER.

Mrs. Martel in Liverpool.—Mrs. Martel has been in Liverpool during the last fortnight. With the assistance of members of the local W.S.P.U. a big meeting was held on December 8, and this was followed by a business meeting, when arrangements were made for a short campaign in and near Liverpool. On Saturday Mrs. Martel was present at the Conference of the Co-operative Guild in Manchester. The Clarion Café Club invited her to speak there on Monday, December 15, and the next day Mrs. Martel addressed a public meeting in the Engineers' Room, Mount Pleasant.

Miss Annie Kenney had a busy hour and-a-half when, unassisted, she "held up" some fifty medical students who had come to the Victoria Rooms with mischief in their hearts and questions in their mouths. It was a fierce fight, but there was never any doubt as to the victory. The occasion was the usual At Home at the Victoria Rooms, and besides Miss Kenney there were present Miss Codd and Mrs. Curtis (in the chair). When the hostilities commenced both of these ladies wisely left the issue in the hands of Miss Kenney, who never asked or gave quarter. The business of the At Home was just beginning when there came the noise of many men's feet; and after an unsuccessful attempt to enter the gallery—the door of which, by Miss Kenney's instruction, was locked—they entered the hall. A battle of wits followed, at the close of which the students, like the Arabs, "silently stole away"—worsted.—From a local paper.

UNEMPLOYED WOMEN AND MR. ASQUITH.

In reply to a letter from the secretary of the Women's Labour League with reference to the provision for dealing with unemployed women the Prime Minister has written to say that he is informed by the President of the Local Government Board that on October 24 last Mr. Burns, at the request of the Central Unemployed Body for London, made an advance of £1,500 on account for the three existing workrooms for women. Apart from this payment, Mr. Burns, in the last three years, had sanctioned the apportionment out of the unemployed grant of £5,000 towards the cost of maintaining the workrooms. The amount expended by the Central Body in carrying on these rooms, up to July last, was £11,442, and the receipts from the sales amounted to £4,761, whilst latterly it had been found impossible to dispose of the productions of the

workrooms. In these circumstances Mr. Burns was of opinion that past experience did not justify him in encouraging any extension of a scheme undertaken as an experiment. The Prime Minister saw no ground for dissenting from this conclusion, but added that any practical scheme suggested to Mr. Burns would receive his sympathetic consideration.

Replying to this the League secretary says that any difficulty which exists in the sale of the women's work is due to delay and restrictions placed in the way of the Women's Work Committee by Mr. Burns himself. Those who know the value of the workrooms to the women are determined not to let them be closed for lack of funds. This autumn the number of women registering from September 24 to December 9 has been 1,037, far exceeding all previous records. Hundreds of other women out of work have not registered because they know that it is useless with only three workrooms for the whole of London. From September 24 to December 5, 1908, £688 has been spent on women's work, as compared with £30,608 on the men's. "These repeated refusals by Mr. Burns to consider practical proposals favourably," the letter concludes, "or to make any helpful suggestions himself, do not give us confidence in his 'sympathetic consideration' of any additional proposals."

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Second Member: I sha'n't shut up. You are an insolent snob.
First Member: Mr. Chairman, is he in order in characterising me as an insolent snob?
The Chairman: Of course he is not. He really must use more Parliamentary language. It is a disgrace to the board.
Third Guardian: What can you expect from a pig but a grunt?
Second Member: Some of you are always insulting me.
The Chairman (banging the desk): You really must keep order. . . . You are all getting very disorderly. I sha'n't feel very well, and shall really have to adjourn the board if there is not more quietude.—Daily Chronicle.



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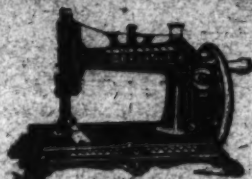
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